1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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The bear hunt.—Bears were hunted by individuals or by the tribe. Before a man started on a bear hunt he went through the following ceremony, known as *wona^{a}ire'rr*, literally "concentration of the mind." He either built a special lodge or used his own for the ceremony. A kettle containing food was placed on the fireplace; this was intended for the particular bear the man wished to kill. The food generally consisted of corn or dried fruit; tobacco and red feathers also were offered, the former in small bark vessels. All these offerings were made not only as sacrifices to the bear but in order to make the feast as tempting as possible. When everything was in readiness, the host rubbed two sticks having rough surfaces against each other, called *nai^{a}cuxax* or *nai^{a}cuidjo'k'erre*. The host never ate. He continued his singing and rubbing until he attracted the attention of the bear, as indicated by the appearance of a little streak of flame passing from the fire toward the gifts he brought for him.

The same ceremony was performed before starting on a deer or a raccoon hunt. In addition to this ceremony, individuals always used the special hunting medicines that they obtained during their fasts. This was frequently chewed and then rubbed into the arrow (nowadays into the gun).[1]

There is a time of the year called *hiruci'c*, when bear break hickory or oak branches for the nuts or the acorns. It seems they are then very easy to approach. If a man killed a bear he would always refer to it in terms of respect.

The tribal bear hunt always took place in summer. As enemies were generally encountered on the way a winter or war feast was always given before the party started. This had nothing to do, however, with the hunt proper. Following is a fairly close translation of an account of a Winnebago bear hunt and buffalo hunt secured by the author:

Description of a bear hunt.—When the Winnebago went on the bear hunt they always traveled in large numbers. They would always be able to find bears in the groves of red timber-oak, and it would be very easy to kill them. Nevertheless the old people considered it a very dangerous affair, especially if the hunters came upon breeding bear. If anyone killed a breeding bear he would cause very much trouble. The male bear would get very angry and chase the man who had done the killing, and if it ever happened that he was out of ammunition, the man surely would be killed. The bear would jump upon him and tear him to pieces. It is said that when bears kill a human being they always eat him. Another way of getting at the bears was to clear away the ground for them. It is very easy to kill them then. This generally takes place at the time of the year when the acorns fall to the ground. The bears gather in the cleared spaces and lie down there. They lie in the timber under the trees. They look like black objects in the distance. It is customary to shoot at them from some distance, but care is always taken not to shoot all of them, nor to shoot when the wind was with them, for then they would scent the hunters

[1] Numerous descriptions of the *wona^{a}ire'rr* are given in the Hare Trickster cycle.

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In the middle of the field was usually placed an earthen representation of the clan animal. As to how squash and beans were planted, no reliable information is available. The corn was planted in small circular mounds which, to judge from those near Madison, Wis., were arranged in remarkably straight rows.

The author is unable to say what type of implements was used, as the Winnebago have been using those of European manufacture for many years and have no recollection of any other kind.

If anyone had more corn planted than he could take care of he gave a feast, to which he invited all who had hoes. At this feast dried corn was used. On this occasion the people sacrificed tobacco to their hoes, so that they might not cut themselves with these implements or have other accidents. Then they all joined in helping their host cultivate his corn.

In addition to the above-mentioned patches, most Winnebago had small fields of tobacco, which were regarded as very sacred. The tobacco grown on these was used only for sacrificial purposes. Sacred gourds also were planted in these fields.

Berry picking.—From the earliest times the Winnebago were known for their bountiful supply of berries. Every fall parties of men, women, and children went out to pick cranberries and whortleberries.

Customs when berries are ripening.—If a man has a son whom he loves very much, he has him fast as soon as the berries and other things begin to ripen. If this boy dreams of something good, then he (the father) gives a feast with the newly ripened food and the boy eats. If the boy does not dream of anything good after four days, the father makes him eat and has him try again.

Rice gathering.—In common with the Central Algonquian tribes, with whom they have come in contact, especially the Menominee, the Winnebago spent a number of weeks every year gathering wild rice. The following description of the manner in which this is done is taken from a newspaper article published by Prof. A. E. Jenks of the University of Minnesota:

> Fox River from its source to Lake Winnebago was for hundreds of years a very productive field for this aquatic cereal, and along this river the Winnebago lived in plenty and peace with several wild rice eating tribes of the Algonkin stock. Probably a few families still gather their annual crop in that old domain; but most of the wild rice which the tribe now gathers is obtained in the sloughs of the Mississippi River near Lacrosse, Wis., and on the Iowa side of that river
>
> The Winnebago gather the grain by running their canoes into the tall standing stalks before the grain is ripe. A stick is held in each hand of the harvester, one being used to draw the standing stalks over the edge of the canoe, while the other one is employed in tapping or striking the heads of the stalks, thus knocking the grain out of the fruit head into the canoe. After the canoe is full it is taken to the shore and emptied.

Preparation of foods.—Meats were prepared by broiling, in three ways—on stakes, over a rack, or under hot ashes. Only the ribs

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CHAPTER IV

GENERAL SOCIAL CUSTOMS

843 *Birth.*—During pregnancy a woman had to observe carefully certain restrictions. She was not allowed to roam the woods alone for fear of meeting snakes or other animals, the sight of which was believed to forebode ill luck to a pregnant woman. She was not permitted to have dogs or cats around her nor to sleep during the day. Every morning during her pregnancy she had to take a cold bath. Among the restrictions may have been food taboos, but no information on this phase of the subject was obtained.

844 When the time for delivery came, it was the custom for the woman to occupy a small lodge erected especially for her use. None of her male relatives were permitted to be present and her husband was not even permitted to stay at home. He was supposed to travel continually until the child was born, in the belief that by his movements he would help his wife in her delivery. According to one informant the husband had to hunt game, the supposition being that this procedure on his part would cause his wife to have enough milk for the child. This traveling of the husband was called, therefore, "Looking-for-milk." It was considered improper for a woman to cry out during labor pains, and by doing so she subjected herself to the [854] jests of her older female relatives. The cradle-board was always made before the child was born (pls. 41, *c*, 42, *a*).

The positions commonly assumed by women in delivery may be described thus: Supported by the arms, which were passed over a pole held in the crotches of two forked sticks driven into the ground; suspended between two stakes; or flat on the back.

The infant's navel string was cut off and sewed into a small bag, which was attached to the head of the cradle-board.

844 607 On the birth of a child the sisters of the husband were supposed to show his wife especial marks of courtesy. They always gave her valuable gifts, such as goods or a pony. They were glad that he had offspring, the people said, and even permitted their brother's wife [431] to give the presents received from them to her own relatives. The presentation of these gifts was called "Cradling-the-infant." Gifts 844 were presented also to the wife's brothers.

562 527 782 Some time after the birth of a child, if a boy, the father always gave a feast to Earthmaker and thanked him.

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limb.[13] They will indeed like you very much if you obtain a limb, or, even better, two or three. If you do thus, wherever people boil an animal with a head [14] you will always be able to eat. 867 554

If on account of your bravery you are permitted to tell of your war exploits during the Four Nights' Wake for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, do not try to add to your glory by exaggerating any exploit, for by so doing you will cause the soul to stumble on its journey to the spirit land.[15] If you do this and add an untruth to the account of your war exploit, you will die soon after. The war spirits always hear you. Tell a little less. The old men say it is wise. 867 765 554

My son, it is good to die in war. If you die in war, your soul will not be unconscious. You will have complete disposal of your soul and it will always be happy.[16] If you should ever desire to return to this earth and live here again, you will be able to do so. A second life as a human being you may live, or, if you prefer, as an inhabitant of the air (a bird) you may live, or you may roam the earth as an animal. Thus it is to him who dies in battle. 867 721 775

My son, fast for an honorable place among your fellowmen. Fast, so that when you are married you may have plenty of food; that you may be happy and that you may not have to worry about your children. If in your fastings you have a vision of your future home, the members of your family will be lacking in nothing during their life. Fast for the food that you may need. If you fast a sufficiently large number of times, when in after life you have children and they cry for food you will be able to offer a piece of deer or mouse meat without any difficulty. Your children will never be hungry. 867 785 787

[13] That is, a war honor, but more specifically if you "count coup" first. The honor of killing an enemy and the three honors associated with first touching his dead body are always spoken of as "the four limbs of the body." [555]

[14] That is, wherever people give a Winter Feast. At this feast a deer, head and all, is served to the invited guests. The head may only be eaten by brave warriors. [527]

[15] At the death of a chieftain an elaborate wake takes place. To this wake, as the principal participants, three or four warriors who have counted "coup" are always invited. It is believed that the souls of all the enemies one has killed become the slaves of the victor and he may command them to do his bidding at any time. If the victor tells his exploit and then commands the enslaved soul to take care of the recently departed person in whose honor the wake is being given, the soul of the conquered enemy will be of considerable aid in overcoming the obstacles that are supposed to infest the path between this earth and the land of the spirits. These can not be overcome by the merits of the individual alone. If, however, a warrior becomes raingivenus, the soul of the recently departed individual will fall into the abyss of fire which surrounds one of the heavenly earths through which he must pass. That is what is meant by "stumbling." 262 765 775

[16] It must be remembered that the Winnebago believe that all that constitutes "life," "consciousness," continues to exist after death, the only difference being that in the former case an envelope, the body, is present and, in the latter case, it is not. Winnebago philosophy does not concern itself with what happens when a soul becomes "unconscious" at death, which would, of course, be the case with all those who do not die in battle; but it does insist that to him who dies on the warpath the moment of death does not even deprive of consciousness. He goes right on living, as if he were still an inhabitant of this earth, the only difference being that the corporeal envelope has fallen off his soul and that, although he sees and hears human beings, he himself is not visible nor his voice audible. 774 775

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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like to have you put some food in your mouths."[a] "My niece, it is good. You have indeed made yourself 'pitiable.' You have thirsted yourself to death and I, too, pity you. If any spirit has blessed you, he has done so with good reason. I, too, once thirsted myself to death and the spirits blessed me with life. With this life, my niece, I also bless you. I will gladly partake of your feast." Thus spoke Wolf. Then Elk said, "My niece, I, too, was told to fast: and in my fast the spirits blessed me with the power of having complete control over all my actions. This dream (i. e., the blessings I obtained) I now give to you.[a] With these blessings you will be able to live as you desire. I will now gladly partake of your food."

When they were through eating, she also ate, and then they all went home. After a while her father said to her, "My daughter, I am going to ask you a question. It is said that those who have been blessed might tell their dreams if they were asked." "All right," said the daughter, "I will tell you. Eight days I fasted and then the spirits blessed me. They told me that if at the end of four days I should place offerings south of the place known as the Big Eddy and situated down the stream the powers with which I had been blessed would be shown to me. The one who blessed me was the chief of the Wakaⁱnteĝa, the spirits who live in the earth. He said that Earthmaker had created him and given him great power; that he had placed him in charge of 'life.' In four days he told me, 'I will appear to you. The day on which I appear to you will be a perfect day. Whatever you wish to make for yourself, you may do. You will never be in want of anything, for you can make implements for yourself out of my body. With these I bless you, for you

[a] The fast referred to here is the fast called Hachiginanie Wadeⁱ (transcr. of foster's fast). By custom whenever a man or woman who has been blessed is about to break his fast. At the feast it is customary, are telling the essential contents, for the latter to narrate his blessing. However, these feasts have now been discontinued for so long a time that it is extremely difficult to obtain any accurate information.

[a] The transference of certain blessings is very common, but, to my knowledge, it is rarely done in this manner. As a rule if a person was unable to obtain blessings, he sought to offset this handicap in life by purchasing supernatural powers from some of his more successful fellow-men. However, these powers seem to be connected almost exclusively with medicines. That blessings such as those bestowed upon individuals during their fast, such as long life, invincibility, hunting powers, etc., were transferred, does not seem probable, although it is, of course, possible. The writer was told of a number of cases where this seemed to have been the case, but on closer study it was conclusively shown that no real transference had taken place, but that in those instances where a person had said, "I transfer this and that dream to you," the transferee had no validity unless the individual to whom the dream had been transferred actually fasted and obtained the same dream. An individual would in such a case always be careful to select as his "dream-host" one who would in all likelihood obtain the same dream. It is only in this sense that one might actually speak of a transferee. In those instances where a man is blessed with supernatural powers that are to extend to all his posterity this is what is really meant, namely, an infinite repetition of the same blessing, one that has, however, become so certain within definite families that it might be considered automatic.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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575 796 the Buffalo clan feast, the society of those who have been blessed by the buffaloes, and the society of those who wear buffalo headdresses; the last apparently of Sioux origin.

The medicine dance has been described by the author in some detail,[1] and a general description will be found on page 350.

796 727 Of the semipermanent societies, the *hok'ize're* dance is given after every successful war party by those four individuals who have counted coup. It has only a temporary existence, for it ceases to be an organization as soon as each individual performance is over. Its main purpose seems to be the desire to transfer to the victor, from the skulls or the scalps of the slain enemies obtained on that particular warpath, the valor and prowess for which the slain person was noted.

●527 In addition to the above ceremonies there were a number of pleasure and miscellaneous dances that are described on page 379.

796 278 There were apparently a number of very important feasts connected with certain medicines, the principal one of which was the Black Earth Medicine feast; but unfortunately no account of this was obtained, owing to lack of time.

Ceremonies Associated With the Clans

The Clan Feasts

The Thunderbird clan or chief feast

796 614 *Introduction.*—The chief feast, or, as it may more properly be called, the feast of the bird clans, is generally given once a year, sometimes in late spring. It was also given on certain other occasions for specific purposes. At the present time it is given by the members of the Thunderbird clan and the prevalence of the appellation "chief feast" would seem to indicate that it was at all times the feast of the Thunderbird clan. We ought then to expect to find clan feasts of the other members of the *waŋgeregi* division, namely, of the Warrior, Eagle, and Pigeon clans. No such feasts are given to-day, however, and the members of these latter three clans always speak of the chief or bird feast as their specific clan feast. As such it is also regarded by the members of the *maⁿnegi* division.

In the total absence of historical data it is quite useless to speculate about the significance of one feast sufficing for four clans, where in strict analogy to the feasts of the other clans we would expect to find one for each clan; yet the idea that naturally presents itself is that we are in reality dealing with one clan that has become split up into four subclans. Such a view has been expressed by J. O. Dorsey,[2] but the data upon which he based his opinion seem to us highly

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[1] The Ritual and Significance of the Winnebago Medicine Dance, *Journal of American Folklore*, vol. xxiv, No. xcii, 1911.

[2] Siouan Sociology, 15th Ann. Rept. Bur. Amer. Ethn., p. 361.

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The soldier dance is a hop up and down with both feet and in no particular order, anywhere around the singers. It is held in the open air.

SOLDIER DANCE SONGS

I

Manaŋp'ᵉ'ra naᵃjiᵉwinᵃ.
Soldiers get up.

II

Waja'ᵉniᵃ hᵉxiŋi'jį naᵃjiᵉ'aᵃnįᵃ.
Something difficult get ready.
(I. e., whenever there is anything difficult to do you must get ready.)

III

Manaŋp'ᵉ'ra newineᵉ'naᵃ huᵉ'naŋiredra.
Soldiers I am he whom they spoke of.

IV

Manaŋp'ᵉ'ra hi'jaᵃ wineᵉ'naᵃ.
Soldier one I am.
(I. e., I am a soldier, and if there is anything to do I'll do it.)

Ceremony of Uangeru

(Begging ceremony)

A dummy is made of grass and dressed with whatever objects the maker wants to get. If he wants a horse he puts a bridle crosswise around the body of the dummy; if he wants clothes, he dresses him up in Indian clothes. Then the man places this dummy anywhere near a gathering, or where he expects a gathering to take place. He sits near it. As soon as any warrior sees the dummy he goes over to it and either kicks or strikes the man who made it, giving him at the same time one of the objects he wanted. Any person may do the same. They may not stop kicking the man until some warrior who had at some time or another cut up an enemy in war cuts up the dummy. Then all stop, and as soon as his bruises permitted him, the man would get up and pick up the gifts brought to him.

Feast to Buffalo Tail

A grandfather of mine called Cokeboka fasted at Neceda, Wis. There he was blessed by a young buffalo bull calf belonging to a herd. The calf said, as the herd went by, "Father, keep going in the road; mother, keep going in the road." He meant a warpath instead of the road they were going in. The man was to go on a warpath, from which he would return victorious.

They used to make offerings to this tail alone, apart from the war bundle. The braided grass was to be used for smoking. The feast is given in spring after the grass grows up, and in midwinter. Ground corn is boiled in making the feast.

Kikre Waci and Tcebokonaᵉk Dances

There is a pleasure dance called *kikre waci* and a dance called tcebokonaᵉk (wearing buffalo headdresses). The latter is of Sioux origin.

1:Radin E-5 (1908-1913) 1923
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four warriors who have counted coup on the last warpath form the units of organization. The peculiarity of the War-bundle Feast is that it belongs not merely to one of these types but to two of them.

The war bundles were originally family possessions and were, in the opinion of the writer, only secondarily associated with the clan as such. They represent a complex of blessings received from various spirits who are supposed to control the fortunes of war. They were handed down from one generation to another in the same family, but not necessarily to the eldest son, and could as a matter of default pass out of the hands of the immediate family. The individual who received the war bundle was that one who had by his interest, knowledge, character, and accomplishments demonstrated to the full satisfaction of the elder generation, more specifically to the elder generation represented by his father and close male relatives of his father's generation, that he was capable of continuing the ceremonials in a proper manner. It follows from this that he would have to be a well-known warrior. Now, it is customary among all the woodland tribes for a warrior who is about to start on a warpath to give a feast to which he invites all the other warriors, from among whom he, of course, has to draw his recruits; and at this feast he explains the nature of the contemplated warpath and his warrant—i. e., the thoroughness of the specific blessings he has received—for starting it.

In other words, we will have to picture to ourselves the war-bundle feast as originally a gathering of warriors preparatory to the starting out of a war party, in which the part of the host was always taken by the leader of the prospective war party. All of the well-known warriors were likely to have war bundles, and thus the basis for the development of what is, to all intents and purposes, a society of those who had war bundles was always present potentially. It is believed, however, that at the time the Winnebago culture was still in the formative stage this aspect of the gathering was entirely secondary, and that primarily it was a gathering of warriors for the immediate purpose of going on a warpath.

It may perhaps be interesting to go into some details of how this "society" aspect of a gathering of warriors developed. This development probably took two lines -first, a religious one, and secondly, one of definite organization. It would be quite erroneous to say that it took these lines of evolution, because it is in the nature of societies thus to develop. This originally temporary organization took these lines of development because of the presence in the war-bundle ritual of two factors—first, fasting experiences associated with the same spirits, and, second, the influence of the clan organization.

Only a small number of spirits were specifically associated with success in war, and these were Disease-giver, Thunderbirds, Sun, and the Night Spirits.

7: Radin E-6 (ca. 1912) 1928 NP12 Winnebago NP12

I Take a Trip to Nebraska

to see her when I was drinking heavily. I therefore had to go on alone. I had my gun with me. I arrived at Nebraska in midsummer. I arrived there very early in the morning, and there I met a man whom I had once known, a person who used to go around a good deal. There were many people present. We sat somewhat on one side, and he and his wife drank with me. I told him what I had done, how I had counted coup on a Pottawattomie, and he shook hands and said that he too had counted coup and that he was going to wear a head ornament. Then they took me to the place where they lived, carrying all my things for me.

The next day the Nebraska Winnebago were going to celebrate. There was to be a general gathering for a week. The people with whom I was staying joined the others at the gathering. At the gathering itself I met two men whom I knew and who recognized me. They shook hands with me. They were riding in a buggy, and when they left, they took me along. On the road they stopped, and we got out of the buggy and began drinking out of a jug containing four quarts of whisky which we had along with us. I joined them in the drinks. We then went back to the gathering, where I met an uncle of mine. To him I presented my gun, and he was delighted.

The gathering itself was a very large one, and we danced every day. I also prepared myself and took part in the dance and gave away many things. I received in return two ponies, a harness, and a top-buggy. I remained there for some time after the celebration

7:Radin E-8 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

§29. *My Release from Prison and First Acquaintance with the Peyote*

*159 When we were released we found our relatives waiting for us. My older brother was there, and with him I went home. We began to drink immediately. I was [273] very happy, although when I was in prison I had felt that I would never drink again. We reached the [837] Winnebago the same day. There I met a woman, and I cohabited with her that very night. I had been [152] desiring that for a long time. Then I began to drink again. After a while I went to Black River Falls and [837] there met my former wife, whom I immediately took back again.

• [527] The Indians were just then celebrating their midsummer feasts. I went among them, took part, and drank [156] a great deal. I considered myself a brave man and a medicine man; I thought myself a holy man, a strong one, and a favorite with women. I felt that I was in [832] possession of many courting medicines. A brave man I felt myself; a fleet runner. I was an excellent singer [527] of songs at the Brave Dance; [99] I was a sport, and I [273] wanted whisky every day.

My mother and father had gone to the Missouri River, to the Winnebago living in Nebraska. They left me in charge of two horses and a wagon belonging

[99] A non-sacred war dance whose songs were very popular.

7: Radin E-5 (ca. 1912) 1926 NP12 Winnebago NP12

*159 795 [796] claimed." Some say that the home of the bad spirit can also be visited when in this state.

So that night we went to a meeting again. I doubted all their claims, of course, and thought that they were untrue. Nevertheless I went along. When we got near I had already eaten some peyote for I had taken three in the day. Now near the place where the peyote meeting was to be held there was a regular Winnebago feast [527] and to that I went instead. I found a long lodge and heard a terrific noise. An enormous drum was being beaten. The sound almost raised me in the air so pleasurably loud did it sound to me. Not so pleasurable had things appeared at the peyote meetings that I had lately been attending. There I danced all night and I flirted with the women. I left about day and when I reached the peyote meeting it was still going on. When I got back I was told to sit in a certain place and I was treated very kindly. There I again ate peyote. I also heard that they were going to have another meeting nearby on the evening of the same day. We continued eating peyote at the place where we were staying, which was the house of one of my relatives. Some of the boys taught me a few songs and [533] they said, "Say, when you learn how to sing you will be the best singer, for you are a good singer as it is. You have a good voice." I thought so myself.

[P. 178]